

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00  
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FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0289

S E C R E T GENEVA 6946

EXDIS/USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PARM  
SUBJ: COMMENTS ON MEETING, AUGUST 12, 1977  
(SALT TWO - 1340)

REF: SALT TWO - 1337

1. AT AUGUST 12 PLENARY, I NOTED DIFFERENCES IN US AND SOVIET POSITIONS ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND NON-TRANSFER PROVISION AND TABLED LANGUAGE AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT: IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE VIABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THIS AGREEMENT, EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO CIRCUMVENT THE PROVISIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT. END TEXT. I ARGUED THAT BROADLY DRAWN PROVISION WOULD BE MOST EFFECTIVE, SPECIFICITY WOULD NARROW ITS APPLICATION, AND QUESTIONS UNDER PROVISION SHOULD BE CONSIDERED CASE-BY-CASE.

2. SEMENOV'S FIRST STATEMENT REPEATED TEXT LISTING ISSUES BEFORE DELEGATIONS (REFTEL), NOTING THAT MOBILE ICBMS AND AGGREGATE REDUCTIONS HAD ALREADY BEEN RAISED. HE STATED THAT SOVIET DELEGATION HAD NO AUTHORIZATION TO DISCUSS REDUCTIONS IN MIRV AGGREGATE. IN SECOND STATEMENT, HE ADDRESSED SOVIET PROTOCOL PROPOSAL FOR MOBILE ICBMS, STATING THAT "TEST" CORRESPONDS TO USE OF TERM ELSEWHERE IN JDT, IN PARTICULAR IN ARTICLE XVI.3, AND THAT ARTICLE II.1 IS UNIVERSAL UN APPLICATION, THAT IS, SIDES "CANNOT  
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HAVE A SINGLE ICBM LAUNCHER WHICH IS NOT COUNTED" UNDER THE AGREEMENT.

3. IN BILATERAL, SEMENOV SAID SIDES WERE ON "CLOSE COURSES" ON MOBILE ICBM ISSUES AND SEEMED IN AGREEMENT ON UNIVERSALITY OF ARTICLE II.1. WITH RESPECT TO US NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROPOSAL, SEMENOV SAID WOULD DEFER COMMENT UNTIL TALKER DATE.

4. IN ROWNY/BELETSKY BILATERAL, BELETSKY SAID US NON-CIRCUM-VENTION PROPOSAL WAS NOT CONSTRUCTIVE AND THAT A GREATER DEGREE OF SPECIFICITY WOULD BE NECESSARY.

5. IN KLOSSON-MCNEILL/SMOLIN-OBUKHOV BILATERAL, SMOLIN IMPLIED SOVIETS MIGHT MOVE TERM "DEPLOYED" FROM ARTICLE II.5 TO AGREED STATEMENT. SMOLIN ACCUSED US OF "UNNECESSARY COMPLICATIONS" WHEN KLOSSON ASKED ABOUT RELATIONSHIP OF "DEPLOYED" TO MIBILE ICBM COUNTING RULE IN ARTICLE VI.3.(B).

6. IN JOHNSON/SHCHUKIN BILATERAL, SHCHUKIN SAID US NON-CIRCUM-VENTION PROPOSAL WAS "TOO LACONIC" AND THAT SOVIETS "MUST INSIST" THAT "SOME MENTION OF THIRD COUNTRIES BE MADE". REGARDING BAN ON TESTING OF MOBIL ICBMS, SHCHUKIN SAID BAN REFERS ONLY TO "FULL SCALE" TESTING VERIFIABLE BY NTM, "AS DEFINED IN ARTICLE XVI.3."

7. IN LEVINE/PAVLICHENKO BILATERAL, PAVLICHENKO STATED THAT TESTING REFERRED TO ACTIVITIES COVERED IN ARTICLE XVI.3, AT TEST RANGES, AND/OR VERIFIABLE BY NTM.

8. IN HAFNER-KWIECIAK/JOURAVLEV-BEKETOV BILATERAL, SOVIETS STATED THAT BAN ON TESTING IN SOVIET MOBILE ICBM PROPOSAL WOULD PERMIT ALL DEVELOPMENT EXCEPT FOR FLIGHT-TEST OF MISSILE AND MISSILE LAUNCH FROM MOBILE LAUNCHER. EARLE  
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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009